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of the great majority of the thinking and laboring people of the country, and that we voice the needs of our time, we ask :

1. That the national army be constituted and directed with a view to defense only.

2. That military instruction — as complementary to civil education — begin outside of the army some years previous to the age of conscription, and that training in target-practice be made obligatory through the whole period of youth.

3. That the duration of service in the standing army in time of peace be reduced to the minimum required for the completion of military instruction, which, according to the opinion of most competent experts, for the infantry and artillery, can be placed at one year.

The many millions of expense which would be saved by this reform would assure the economic restoration of the nation and render possible the relief so often promised to the classes which more and more feel the need of it.

These reforms, we well know, do not depend upon you, Sire, devoted as you are to the method of representative government. But we have presented them because, foreseeing that before long the great parliamentary contests in regard to them will be waged, we desire that your Majesty may then be able to see on which side are found the practical spirit, good sense, intelligence, and patriotism, and on which the spirit of partisanship, prejudice and improvidence.

But if in internal politics neutrality among parties is the rôle becoming a sovereign who desires the success of parliamentary government, recent history and daily occurrences convince us that in the relations with the heads of foreign states, the position of a constitutional king is at all times most important. For this reason, chiefly, our Society to-day lays before you, Sire, its wishes and hopes.

The multiplied, constant interests which the various nations have in common, especially those of the same continent, cause one to feel at every turn the necessity of arrangements adapted to their better promotion and to the settlement of the questions arising from them. The concert and intervention of the great powers for the pacification of Crete and the settlement of the Chinese troubles are an illustration of the necessity of much closer relations among the nations of Europe, such as will become at no remote day a true and proper juridic union. A notable step toward this union was the institution of the Hague Court of International Arbitration, due to the noble initiative of Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia. But such an institution was only a part of the great design presented to the civilized world on the 28th of August, 1898, in the Circular of the great Chancellor Mouraviev. The conference of representatives of the various powers, suggested in this circular, had also the explicitly expressed purpose of "putting an end to the incessant armaments" and of assuring international peace "by means of united consecration of the principles of equity and right, on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples."

The proposal for disarmament was found to be too advanced, and it failed through the strong opposition of the delegation of a single great state. But since that time the noble idea has gained much ground, and it is probable that before long either Russia or some other

state, impelled by public opinion, will bring forward the proposal of disarmament.

In case this happens, there is no doubt, Sire, that your adherence will be among the foremost. But our Society has a greater hope and a more ardent wish than this, and that is that, instead of awaiting the initiative of others, your Majesty will take it yourself.

Italy, which under pagan Rome, followed up its victories of force with laws of equity and of justice; which, under Christian Rome, proclaimed and tried to realize the union of the whole human race; which furnished the precursors and the greatest legislators of international law; which recently accomplished the purest of revolutions and gave a pledge of amnesty to its enemies of yesterday, — Italy has not risen to a state of freedom, in the name of right and humanity, in order to follow forever the lead of others in things which most deeply affect her own life. She owes it to herself, to her past, to the great men of thought and action who lead in her regeneration, to take a special and leading part in the further growth of civilization.

The thought, O Sire, of the smallness of our country in comparison with the greater powers will certainly not be considered by you a disadvantage. Nations to-day are estimated and have value not so much by the vastness of their territory or the number of their inhabitants as by the moral force which animates them and the ideas for which they stand. If little Holland was considered worthy to be the seat of the first international juridic institution of the world, Italy may prevent that institution from becoming a fruitless tree by uttering to the rulers of the nations a solemn word which will re-awaken in them the fruitful idea from which it sprang. Say this word, Sire. May your Majesty take upon yourself this initiative.

Kingdoms and republics disappear. Ministers, even the best of them, pass away. But the ideas which mark a new stage in the progress of civilization endure and surround with immortal glory the generous and the brave who make themselves their propagators.

New Books.

POLITICS AND THE MORAL LAW. By Gustav Ruemelin, late Chancellor of the University of Tübingen. Translated from the German. Edited with an introduction and notes by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 75 cents.

The fact that Mr. Holls has seen fit to connect his name with the English translation of this address will secure for it numerous readers among that large and intelligent class of persons who are increasingly interested in the problem of the relation of the moral law to politics. His notes occupy fully one-third of the book, and his discussion in one of these notes of the duty of the state to observe its treaties — a subject touched upon in the body of the work — is a very sensible one.

Of Chancellor Ruemelin's argument it is difficult to speak intelligently without giving the whole of it. His position is that politics is a law unto itself; that self-interest is the principle by which the state's life must be directed, and therefore politics cannot be subject to the

moral law which rules in individual lives. A careful reading of his thought indicates very clearly that he is trying to make his theory square with what states actually do in their supposed self-interest rather than with what they ought to do to their true interest.

We have nowhere seen the doctrine that the moral law cannot be followed in statecraft declared with more cold-bloodedness. Possibly this is in part accounted for by the fact that the address was delivered soon after the Franco-Prussian War. However, there are passages in the address which reveal the author's doubt of the correctness of his theory. He declares that "politics and morality hold coördinate positions, both being included in the higher conceptions of ethics," whatever that may mean. If this is true, one cannot help querying how "the moral law in the wider sense" can produce such diametrically opposite results in politics and in common social life, how falsehood and deceit are wrong in the latter and right in some of the movements of the former. The untenableness of his theory further manifests itself to his consciousness when he says that "the historical development of politics and of the moral law shows a continual *rapprochement*"; that "there is at least an ever-present tendency to introduce more and more of the moral law into politics." Why, if his theory of coördinateness be correct, is the *rapprochement* entirely from one side?

The discussion is certainly a most stimulating one. It raises questions on every page. Those who believe that politics is not in any way bound by the moral law, that the Golden Rule cannot be applied in international affairs, that a state could not be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, will find their doctrine formulated by Chancellor Ruemelin with a plainness and boldness that will almost give them the shivers. Those who believe the contrary will find, on reading his candid statements, ample opportunity to restate to themselves their own views, with perhaps more assurance of their correctness than they have ever had before.

PEACE OR WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA. By A. M. S. Methuen, London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W. C. Price, one shilling and postage.

This work of 270 pages, the sale of which has been large in England, has reached its sixth edition. It has been highly praised by both Liberals and Conservatives for its moderation of tone and its patriotic purpose. Its object is to provide a concise narrative of the events which preceded and caused the war, and to point out the way in which an honorable peace may be established. It describes the errors of the British Ministry, both in their diplomacy and their conduct of the war. It gives material for a proper estimate of the Boers. It sets forth the odiousness of the methods of warfare adopted by the British, and the "terrible responsibility" of those who insist on "a fight to a finish," in opposition to the advice of Lord Kitchener, the one man acquainted with the position in South Africa. The melancholy failure of Lord Milner, the unaccountable ignorance of South African affairs shown by the British government, the rebellion in Cape Colony, the loss of respect among foreign peoples, the economic future of South Africa, the

troubles certain to follow from "government without consent," the British future "dark and big with storms," are set forth in vivid and yet in no extravagant terms. There is probably no better book for those who wish to get at the facts and form a cool and fair judgment of the whole South African situation. We have seen nowhere a nobler appeal to the true England, now seemingly smothered, than is found in some of the closing passages of this little volume.

"There is an England which is not the England of the music hall and of the shouting streets; not the England who lifts her timid cheek to the strong and turns to crush the little nations. Let some master-builder come forth, and on the wreck of our ancient name and of our broken pride raise up anew our England, the dear England of our history and our hopes, chivalrous and merciful, silent and self-reliant, scornful of vain boasting and abuse, lover of free nations, defender of the weak. There is yet time to make our choice, but the full tide is ebbing."

THE MANSE GATE. By "Tubal-Cain." London. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. Cloth: 336 pages. Price, six shillings.

We do not know who "Tubal-Cain" is, but the author of this excellent story ought to have taken to himself a name smacking less of the remote and ignorant past. We have not read for a long time anything in the way of fiction in which the true Christian spirit is exhibited and maintained in a clearer, more robust and healthy way. It is a story of the struggle in British opinion during the past three years in the matter of the South African war; but in scope it is much wider than this, involving the whole question of the unchristian character of war. The story is full of incident, of movement, and for the most part displays a fine sense of human nature and conduct. The hero, a young Scotchman, is a staunch advocate of peace principles, which he maintains in a natural and manly way. The love-making part of the book, if it can be called such, is so worked out as to teach high and sane views of love and marriage. We should like to see "The Manse Gate" put into the hands of thousands of boys and girls. It would make an admirable Christmas present.

Members of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. — His Excellency Count Frédéric Schönborn, Doctor of Laws, President of the Imperial Court of Justice, former Minister of Justice, Member of the House of Lords of the Austrian Parliament, etc.; His Excellency M. D. De Szilagy, former Minister of Justice, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Hungarian Parliament, etc.; Count Albert Apponyi, Member of the Chamber of Magnates and of the Chamber of Deputies of the Hungarian Parliament, etc. M. Henri Lammasch, Doctor of Laws, Member of the House of Lords of the Austrian Parliament, etc.

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